/1029 cont./

888 live alone, they always have a few children or grandchildren with them who are absolutely obedient to them." In common with reliable observers, I, too, have denied the false accusation of cannibalism among the Yamana (p. 252 /untranslated/).

134 163 It is often said that it is customary among them to strangle certain people who are dying (446). Early in 1863 young Bridges

446. It is known that the same assertion was made against the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 480), but they themselves energetically denied it.

(VSA:X,171;1863) first wrote about this: "Ookokko gives me a sad account of some of the Fuegian tribes. It is a practice with some when a man is very ill, and likely to die, to cut his time short in a violent manner, and kill his young children by suffocating them. But some of the tribes, he says, are very good to the sick, and show much commiseration for their pain" /cited in English/. Later he (e):332 relayed his opinion about this to a number of Europeans and said very emphatically: "Old and hopelessly sick persons were seldom done away with before their natural end; when the faculties of speech, sight, and movement were lost and if the case was of long duration, then the dying person was strangled, and thus the end was hastened for him and his family in a merciful manner." Later he (h):209 and (i):14 repeats the same thing: "The Yahgans occasionally hastened the end of their relatives by strangulation. This was kindly meant and there were good reasons for it. It was only resorted to in cases of long continued unconsciousness and utter weakness, preceding death, when the dying person neither ate nor drank, spoke nor moved. The act was done openly and with the consent of all except that of the victim, who was too inanimate to do anything. This act was called tabacana and it was done to any class of person in the above hopeless condition, either man or woman" /cited in English/. This spelling, tabacana, is probably a mistake; in SD:394 it is given /1030/ correctly as tatabána, "to kill any person or animal which is sick and in pain in order to put him out of his misery" /cited in English/. Martial: 396, as well as Hyades (p):333, (g):39, and (q):235 have accepted this opinion from Bridges. The latter does not in any form mention

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T34 a definite instance which he might have observed, and Hyades
T63 (q):242, referring to alleged infanticide and the strangulation of individuals on the point of death, relies on statements of the missionaries and is careful to say that "personally we have not been able to verify these last two assertions" /translated from French/. As late as 1929, Spencer:88, leaned toward this view, without any kind of proof.

T63 A way out of this uncertainty is provided by an opinion for which I am indebted to the brothers, Martin and Fred Lawrence, with whom I had long discussions. They said that it is possible and most likely that some one, at the sight of a relative caught in the death struggle, lost control of himself after several hours. In his agitation, driven by his own pain at the imminent separation from the dying one and impotent in the face of the hopelessness of recovery, he may have seized his throat and strangled him so that instantly the death rattle and any movement stopped. This happened, however, only when the dying person was completely unconscious and there was absolutely no hope of recovery. The desire was simply to terminate his agony.

Only once did I come across the following remark, "taken from conversations with Mr. Burleigh" /cited in English/ (Mbd: XXVIII, 126:1894): "In some cases when the wife was near death the husband would put her into a canoe, take her miles away and leave her, hoping that exposure and starvation would hasten death" /cited in English/. Such behavior so obviously contradicts everything that has been definitely proved about the value of Yamana put on human life that any comment is superfluous. They have never been cannibals (p. 254 /untranslated/), nor does suicide [T62] occur among them, according to definite assertions by Dabbene (b):203 and Bridges (a):211.

18] The entire social order of our Fuegians impresses one as kind and worthy of human beings, for it rests on natural marital relations and favorable mutual relations between parents and children, between the members of a kinship group, and among all the local groups. The small population and the lack of serious disturbances from without facilitate the cohesion of the people as a whole. This social order is conditioned by the nature of the economy of our Yamana. The charming picture of the harmoniously balanced

/1103 cont./

763 152 one's blood curdles. Some of them behave uncontrollably, like lunatics, and tear the skin all over their bodies, rumple their hair, thrash about wildly, cramp themselves up and roll over the body, shake the hut framework, and scatter the fire with their hands, completely beside themselves. It is only when they are exhausted that they completely collapse, trembling all over. It is shattering to watch such individuals. The others present also behave in a very excited and wild fashion. Weeping and groaning, they bend their bodies, repeatedly clutch their hair, and pull it angrily while a stream of tears flows unhindered down their cheeks to the ground. The shrill cry has told the waiting neighbors of the dying person's release; weeping and lamenting, they hasten there (42).

42. Bove (e):139 is the only one who reports on this and only briefly: "The last moments of a dying person are announced by a dreadful wailing; all who are present take part in the grief of the family. Women and men paint their faces and hands black and the nearest relatives even pull out their hair and cut their bodies with shells and knives."

763 • 139 There is little difference in the procedure when a person is released from a long illness by death. His relatives have carefully observed his condition and discussed it with neighbors and visitors. The sick person was obliged to remain in one place almost continuously with one or another of his nearest relatives; friends occasionally came to inquire about his condition and to bring him food or things he could use. Meanwhile /1104/ his strength deserts him. Those who have taken care of him are exhausted after watching him suffer for a long time. The nearer death comes, the more irritable and impatient they become, so that when the death struggle actually begins they behave as though they were completely mad. The suffering and agony that they have had to see their beloved relative endure have lasted too long. If the death struggle is considerably prolonged and if a person finally loses control of himself, it does not seem at all impossible

/1104 cont./

763 that he might strangle the dying one in order to release him from
734 the death agony (p. 944). Loud, shrill cries announce the end to the neighborhood, and people arrive without delay. I myself witnessed the two cases just described.

731 Fatal accidents are not uncommon. A whole family may
766 be taken if a canoe capsizes. A few men drag the body of a person who has drowned or fallen from a rock into his hut if it is not too far away. Otherwise, if the men are far from their families on a cormorant hunt, they bury the victim then and there and hasten to bring the news quickly to the family.

763 The demonstrations of mourning begin while a person is
152 dying and immediately afterwards. All the neighbors assemble in front of the hut of the deceased or inside and start a loud, irregular moaning. Copious tears flow from grief and sincere sympathy. Everyone is again vividly reminded of Watauineiwa who has taken this person away. As was learned earlier from Bridges (a):206: "When a person is very ill and likely to die, great grief is shown, and the near relatives keep near, so as to act as mourners at the decease of the sick. They show much grief, and when the sick actually dies great lamentation is made, and the mourners weep profusely" /cited in English/.

2. The Burial

764 There is a remarkable number of reports, most of them brief,
114 however, about the way our Fuegians treat the corpse. The dying one has scarcely ceased breathing when the persons present busy themselves over him. As Bove (e):159 says, this time accurately: "They wrap the body of the deceased, which is still almost warm in a few rags." They use large pieces of leather and nowadays also scraps of sacking. Usually they leave the body in the position it assumed at death. The entire sheath is fastened and tied with strips of leather which are tightly wrapped around it in various directions (43). This happens in any case; "the dead are always

43. Hyades (q):379 says briefly that "the body is wrapped in some old skins of otter or seal; it is then buried"; Lovisato

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clubs, flats, and so forth were used freely, with no holds barred, but grave wounds or deaths were uncommon. Organized warfare did not exist, and the *Yahgan* had no defensive weapons. The weapons used in their feuds were primarily made for, and adapted to, hunting.

Social relations within and between the dialectic and local groups appear to have been normally irenic, but violence and bloodshed were not infrequent. The friends of fighting parties usually intervened, both by persuasion and by force, to restore peace. A murder was strongly condemned, and the murderer often became an outcast. Bridges found 22 cases of homicide between 1871 and 1884—an annual rate per population something like 10 times as high as that of the United States. Mercy killings occurred for the purpose of putting an end to the sufferings of the hopelessly ill. Human sacrifice was unknown; so too was premeditated suicide.

The evidence that the *Yahgan* practiced no form of cannibalism—gastronomic, famine, ritual, or other—is convincing beyond all reasonable doubt. They would not even eat animals suspected of devouring human flesh.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—The *Yahgan* resented and avenged exploitative trespass upon their tribal territory or attempted occupation of any part thereof by non-*Yahgan*, Indian or White. So, too, did members of any one of the five dialectic groups (Gusinde, 1937, pp. 904-905) or, according to Koppers (1924 b, p. 176), of any one of the numerous local groups, by nonmembers. Since these local groups seemingly were chiefly kinship groups (cf. supra, Political Life), the *Yahgan* land-tenure system resembled the family-hunting-ground system. There was no exclusive tenure by kinship circles as such, by biological families, or by individuals.

Members of one dialectic or local group could, however, exploit the territory of other groups to secure food in grave shortage, to feast on a stranded whale, and to gather firestones and suitable canoe bark, which were found only in certain parts of the *Yahgan* territory. Ownership of personal property, such as weapons, clothing, adornments, and baskets, was vested in the individual. Women and children, as well as men, had well-recognized rights to such things. The ownership of certain other things—food, hut, canoe—appears to have been vested in the biological family.

Food was looked upon as the property and gift of the Supreme Being; wasting it was disrespectful to Him.

Title to personal property was acquired through occupation, labor, donation, and barter. Barter took two forms: plain, or exchange of goods for goods; and by exchange of presents. There was no cur-